186 enthusiastic support and co-operation in the War of Liberation, 1918-20; voluntary united action in the summer of 1941 in driving the Soviets from Estonia; and the last heroic attempts of Estonian units in 1944 to prevent reoccupation of the country by the Red Army.

• [181] 871 212 The dominant social motives of the average citizen are cultural, economic, and national. Estonians have always had a high appreciation for education and have made great sacrifices to educate their children in higher schools. Illiteracy in Estonia was almost nonexistent by the last decades of the nineteenth century. The enthusiastic support of the drive to establish the Alexander School, the founding of private secondary schools during the beginning of the present century, in which the teaching was done in Estonian, and at the same time the

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

progress made during these years.

181 Estonians are great individualists--not a docile people easily led through their herd instinct.

[361] Farmhouses in Estonian villages are not so close together as the Russian ones are; they are situated at some distance from each other to give the people more privacy. There is perseverance, tenacity, and endurance in the character of most Estonians. They are industrious and obstinate like the Finns, but they seem to possess more elasticity and their temperament is livelier. Estonian country people have a strong attachment for the soil and they have deep

[538] love for their fathers' homes. Estonian literature often emphasizes this sentiment, notably Tammsaare's great novel, Truth and Justice.

181 For this reason collectivization of farms by
474 the Communists was a great tragedy for the

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

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Estonians which they tried to resist as long as they could. Not only economically but also psychologically the formerly free Estonian farmers feel themselves to be kolkhoz slaves. As a recent refugee from Soviet Estonia has said, this year the situation has been made even more desperate and more like a medieval feudalism by the forbidding of kolkhoz workers to send their children to city schools. The result of this order is that the rural Estonians are attached to the soil with their entire families. Under these circumstances the people are unhappy, and it will be a long time before they are adjusted, if they ever can adjust, to this kind of life. They do their required work because they well know what the alternative is--deportation and ill treatment, perhaps even death, in remote Russia.

1:Indiana U. S-4. 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

The majority of the Estonians are realists and are not very effusive, emotional, or romantic; they keep their feelings well under control. They are a sober, yet courteous and friendly people and they are willing to adapt new ideas if they are convinced that by doing so their life will be improved. E. H. Harris describes the Estonians as the Scotsmen of the Baltic, and he adds that "they are a charming, hospitable and enlightened folk." Some observers have also found similarities between the Estonians and the French. Because of the predominantly sober character of the Estonians they are not easily influenced by propaganda. Estonia went through an ideological as well as a constitutional crisis in the 1930 s, but she emerged strengthened and democratic. And when, between the two World Wars Estonia was situated between expanding

• 181 totalitarian states--Russia and Germany--she managed not adopt the policy or the ideology of either one.

[542] world's championship in Helsinki (1937) and in [524] Lucerne (1939). Chess also is widely played. [541] Estonian Games, like the Singing Festivals, were arranged at five-year intervals in all types of sports. Performances of folk dances were especially impressive, with hundred of pairs of dancers participating.

Estonian athletes continue to excel also under the Soviet rule, but they appear on U. S. S. R. teams and their nationality is not mentioned.

•181 Basic attitudes. Estonians are not always an easy-going people. They have to a certain degree the "heavy spirit," a kind of basic suspiciousness and distrust and a tendency toward pessimism. Their hard past and the injustices suffered at the hand of their conquerors are perhaps good reasons for these attitudes.

461 181 Their proverb "First the work, then the pleasure" characterizes the serious attitude of the Estonians toward work. They are eager to succeed economically, and they are always willing to accept any changes which they think will help them in their work.

181 Authority is recognized and accepted by the Estonians when it seems wise and sensible, but they do not readily submit to mere power-authority. For this reason the majority of Estonians do not favor dictatorship. They disliked Nazi totalitarianism but tolerated it because they hoped it would be the way to achieve in the long run peace and freedom. Communist dictatorship is more difficult for them because the Estonians naturally detest any kind of leveling (Gleichschaltung) process.

000 In Estonia, as in almost every modern

2: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Votes

Annex "A", Subparagraph 1a,

Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

181 The little group of Votes who have survived so far are primarily small farmers. Living since the beginning of this millenium in the Russian neighborhood and under Russian rule (except during one century of Swedish rule), they have taken over from the Russians their patterns of social life. But they have resisted complete Russification chiefly because the one-sided Russian influence has been counterbalanced by the Balto-Finnic influence of the Ingrians and Finns.

One of the most important influences on the Votes is, or has been at least until the Bolshevist regime, their religion. The Russian Orthodox Church with its lyrical mysticism has completely won them over. The Church has determined their world conception, their sympathies and antipathies and their attitude toward their 186 mother tongue. The Votes treat those of a 177 different religion like complete strangers. But 101 they almost identify themselves with the nationalities (Russians and Ingrians) who have the same religion as they have. Since the language of the religion is Russian, they do not seem to regret giving up Votic in favor of Russian.

The predominance of religion in the Votes' world conception has caused confusion in their notions of nationalities. Often the notions of "Greek Catholic" and "Russian" are considered identical. To the question "Are you a Greek

3:Indiana U. S-4, 5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Vepses

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a,

Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

181 The life of the Vepsians is based primarily on an agricultural tradition. During the czarist rule, almost all of them tilled a patch of land which belonged to the village community. They also carried on fishing to satisfy their own needs. Under the Bolshevists, they had to join the kolkhozes, and this changeover was completed by the end of the twenties.

The Vepsians have been the most backward of the Balto-Finnic nationalities. After the first World War they still lived in a "wooden age," making the majority of their articles from wood and bark. There were several dwelling houses without chimneys; many Vepsians had no clocks, no beds, no knives or forks, and lamps were a rarity.

186 After the Russian revolution of 1917, a slight nationalism manifested itself among the Vepsians. The soldiers who had been in Finland began to propagate the idea that all the small Finnic nations, the Vepsians included, should be incorporated into Finland. Some of them were even ready to sacrifice everything for this goal. But these ideas hardly penetrated very deeply into the Vepsians because of their general dullness and their political ignorance. When the Bolsheviks came to power, these national ideas were soon forgotten.

4: Indiana U. S-4, 5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Livonians

182 Latvianized Livonian village. In 1930, Loorits found
177 there about ten Livonians, all of whom felt
578 ashamed of their Livonian origin, looked down upon the Livonian language and were even proud that they had forgotten so much of their mother tongue. An arrogant woman ironically demanded from Loorits one Lat for every Livonian word she would say, another jeered even more disdainfully: "What will one get for this language? Land or a house? Geese or only a hen?" And pointing to her house which was being built she continued: "Does this horse language [i.e., Livonian] give the roof on our house or soft sofas in the rooms?" The woman's son swore in Latvian that he would never learn a word of the horse language, that he was not a Livonian but a thoroughbred Latvian and that he would drive the foolish Livonian patriots from the shore into the sea. (Oskar Loortis, "Liivi usundi mandumisprotsess," Virittäjä, 1945, pp. 436-37.)

181 Livonians are basically individualists,
226 but their collectivist bent has strongly devel-
476 oped during the centuries due to their main profession, fishing. Almost all fishing is done collectively, in groups of two to six or more men, since big fishing gear cannot be handled by one person. The fish caught is distributed between all the partners. In addition, large nets and seines are owned collectively.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1h,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

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157 Livonians' character. The Livonians are said to be bashful but brave and determined. In their boldness, their knowledge of languages, and in their spirituality they are supposed to be ahead of their neighbors, the Latvians. If one can make friends with the Livonians and win their trust, they will become very friendly and trust one with their most intimate secrets. They are reported to be a very honest and forthright people. Seldom do they lock their granaries, and they send their horses and sheep into the forests for weeks on end without supervision. The drawbacks to the Livonian character are said to be their greediness, which is revealed in an unscrupulous desire to loot wrecked ships, their stubbornness and their drunkenness.

Spiritual development. The Livonians live in a spiritual childhood. Loorits illustrates this in his description of a middle aged well-to-do farmer who has lived in the United States and in South Russia, who knows English and Russian well, but who cannot believe that the earth rotates and that the sun is a fiery mass bigger than the earth. "Mass, what is mass?" he asks incomprehensibly and shakes his head: "Oh, oh, how these philosophers lie."

181 It was also impossible for them to under-
157 stand why certain anthropologists were digging up their dead. Since Professor Setälä's last visit to the Livonians took place not long before the outbreak of the first World War, they were convinced that the professor had sent the war. When Loorits and Professor Kettunen were doing field-work among them after the war, the Livonians considered this a bad omen, for "the war will come again."

183 Customs and superstitions. The Livonians stick faithfully to their old customs and traditions. Especially the customs of marriage and burial, as the most important events of a man's life, are followed in the greatest detail.

585 Wedding customs are slightly different in various villages. In Ire, for instance, they are as follows: When the young man has chosen his bride, they both go on horseback to have their banns read. During the following few weeks the girl is very busy with preparations for her wedding gifts. The wedding takes place on Sunday morning at the regular church service. Before going to church, the bridal pair is betrothed. This happens when they are seated at a table and their hands are placed upon each other; certain relatives also place their hands upon or underneath the hands of the young people. The bridegroom and the bride then go to church in different carriages, the bride wearing a high pearl

527 white bread and dance. On New Year's Eve at
789 midnight they go to the well to drink liquor; the water in the well is then believed to change to liquor. Afterwards they go to listen to how the horses talk in the stable.

●181 The entire life of the Livonians is imbued with superstitions. Various phenomena are believed to forecast rains and storms, sun and drought, and in the same way the future is forecast from dreams and palmistry. The Livonians see all kinds of signs of luck or misfortune and arrange their life accordingly. (For details of their superstitions, see chapter 1k.)[1]

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[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 42-49 - Analyst]